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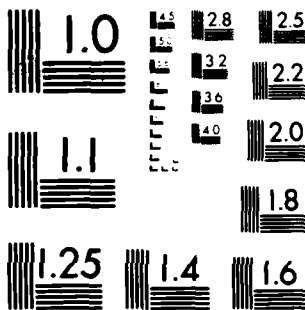
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ANALYSES

CHRONOLOGY OF THE POLISH CRISIS,  
JANUARY 1-AUGUST 31, 1982

The attached chronology of the Polish crisis, covering January 1 through August 31, 1982, is issued as a research aid. It continues the chronology contained in INR Reports 34-CA of December 5, 1980 (covering July 1-November 30, 1980), 194-CA of August 12, 1981 (December 1, 1980-July 31, 1981), and 336-CA of March 3, 1982 (August 1-December 31, 1981).

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Report 475-CA  
September 28, 1982

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Chronology of the Polish Crisis,  
January 1-August 31, 1982

January

- 1 Previously announced price reforms went into effect. The zloty was devalued from 35 to a dollar to 80 to a dollar. Prices on key raw materials were substantially increased--coal, for example, by 260 percent.
- 2 An unidentified senior Polish party official told Western correspondents that an informal "mixed group" of military and civilian officials from the party and government was making the regime's key decisions under martial law. He predicted that an underground Solidarity union movement would emerge to direct resistance to martial law.
- 2-5 Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Aczel and other "senior" Hungarian party officials visited Warsaw, reportedly for discussions with the Polish leadership on rebuilding the Polish party.
- 6 A Polish-Soviet trade agreement signed in Moscow allowed a \$1.7 billion Polish trade deficit for 1982 and continuation of Soviet oil and gas deliveries at 1981 levels. Under separate agreement, Warsaw obtained about \$3.6 billion worth of long-term credits to cover the cumulative 1981-82 Polish trade deficit with the USSR.
- 7 Western journalists in Prague were notified that three new spokesmen had been named to the Czechoslovak Charter 77 human rights group. The spokesmen's first public act was to denounce events in Poland, despite warnings from Czechoslovak authorities.
- 9 Polish Primate Glemp and Premier Jaruzelski met briefly for the first time since the imposition of martial law. The same day, Warsaw announced some easing of martial law, including an end to censorship of foreign correspondents and the restoration of telephone communications within--but not between--cities.

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January

- 10-12 Foreign Minister Czyek visited Moscow. The joint communique denounced the latest US sanctions as directly violating the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and opposed discussion of Poland at the CSCE Madrid meeting scheduled for February 9.
- 11 The special NATO ministerial session issued a declaration that "condemned the imposition of martial law in Poland and denounced the massive violation of human rights and the suppression of fundamental civil liberties in contravention of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Final Act of Helsinki." Poland's NATO creditors also suspended talks on the rescheduling of Poland's 1982 principal repayment (announced in the Polish press on January 14).
- 12 Following TASS' lead, all East European regimes, including Yugoslavia, criticized January 11 NATO declaration. Although tone, level, and focus varied, most alleged that the declaration constituted "crude interference" in Poland's internal affairs and violated the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and "the basic norms of international relations."
- 15 Three underground Solidarity leaders told Western journalists that union activists were preparing to sabotage the economy and resume other forms of resistance with the onset of spring if their elected leaders were not released from internment. They claimed that 20,000 members were active in the underground movement.
- 16 Deputy Prime Minister Madej, president of the Polish State Planning Committee, concluded two days of talks in Budapest with his Hungarian counterpart (Marjai) on bilateral commercial and economic cooperation.
- 17 In an emotional address in Warsaw, Glempt criticized the military regime for continuing arrests and insisting on loyalty oaths and renunciation of Solidarity membership. He demanded that the regime establish a genuine dialogue with its citizens instead of threatening them. Meanwhile, the Catholic Church indicated willingness to take custody of Solidarity leader Walesa, who had been kept near Warsaw in unofficial internment since December 13.

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January

- 18 The Polish Army daily Zolnierz Wolnosci demanded a continuing purge of the communist party so that a "strong, united and ideologically hardened party" would emerge after martial law.
- 18 Deputy Premier Rakowski, prominent spokesman of the Jaruzelski regime, told a Warsaw press conference that no one could predict when martial law would end. He added that the release of the internees, demanded by the West, would mean the return within a month of the situation that existed before December 13.
- 19 Following its first meeting under martial law, the Main Council of the Polish Episcopate sent a letter to Jaruzelski and prepared a tough pastoral letter to be read in Polish churches on the 24th and 31st. The letter demanded lifting of martial law and warned of the danger of protest, rebellion, and even civil war.
- 19-21 Following its regular session in Moscow, the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) issued a statement charging that interference by the US and other NATO countries in Poland's internal affairs was a "crude violation" of the UN Charter and the CSCE Final Act.
- 20 The Polish press admitted that state-contracted grain purchases were 800,000 metric tons below planned levels and that the government needed to buy at least 1,500,000 metric tons before the next harvest to maintain current consumption levels of bread and flour products.
- 24 Pravda finally reacted to Italian Communist Party (PCI) criticism of the Soviet role in Eastern Europe in which the PCI blamed Soviet "ideological bankruptcy" for events in Poland. Pravda countercharged that the PCI leadership had abandoned Marxism-Leninism.
- 25-26 Jaruzelski delivered a major speech to the first full session of the Polish Parliament (Sejm) convened since martial law, but failed to offer a blueprint for Poland's future as had been widely anticipated. His promise to lift most martial law restrictions by the end of February was conditioned on continued quiet in the country. The Sejm legalized the martial law decrees with minor modification; one deputy voted against, five abstained.

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January

- 25-30 "Druzhiba-82" (Friendship-82), a ground and air force exercise involving Czechoslovak, Hungarian, and Soviet forces, took place in Czechoslovakia. The exercise, consisting of some 25,000 troops, had been announced by Prague on January 4 in accordance with CSCE guidelines.
- 26 Some 30 Polish intellectuals addressed a petition to the regime protesting "beatings" and other forms of mistreatment of internees. They also charged that workers were being treated worse than were intellectuals in the internment centers.
- 27 The Polish press reported that some 60 persons were arrested and 45 sentenced in summary courts during the week of January 17-23.
- 30 Some 3,000 young demonstrators clashed with riot police in Gdansk in what appeared to be the first major violence since the suppression of strikes by Silesian miners last December. Eight police and six civilians were injured, and more than 200 people were arrested; most martial law restrictions that had been lifted were reimposed in the city.
- 30 Warsaw announced a series of measures designed to cushion the steep price hikes to take effect on February 1. The measures included subsidies on heating bills for poor families, annual bonus payments to all workers in state administration and state-owned enterprises, and 20-percent reevaluation of monies held in savings accounts.
- 31 Polish and Soviet media denounced the US-sponsored "Let Poland Be Poland" radio and television program as "interference into Poland's internal affairs."

February

- 1 The Polish public accepted with subdued grumbling the introduction of massive increases (up to 400 percent) in consumer prices. This was the first price hike since 1967 that did not trigger violent worker protests. The government announced that only 1.7 million tons of grain had been procured from private farmers, instead of the planned 7 million tons.

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February

- 3           Solidarity was reported to have set up an underground coordinating committee in Gdansk to replace its 120-member National Commission, most of whose members were interned. Twelve senior Solidarity leaders still at liberty reportedly agreed to lead a "national commission of resistance to martial law."
  
- 3           The first copy of an underground weekly magazine to appear in Warsaw since the imposition of martial law was put out by the "Nowa" clandestine press organization.
  
- 3           Poland announced that approximately 760 officials had been ousted since martial law, including 6 provincial governors, 14 deputy governors, and 160 mayors.
  
- 8           Poland eased travel restrictions imposed on Western embassies when martial law was introduced.
  
- 8           The Polish press reported a Council of Ministers' resolution which hinted for the first time that compulsory grain deliveries from private farmers might have to be instituted to prevent bread shortages and rationing.
  
- 8           Polish universities resumed fulltime classes for the first time since December 13.
  
- 9           CSCE resumed in Madrid following a three-month recess. Despite threats of a bloc boycott, Poland and its Warsaw Pact allies participated, although not at the ministerial level.
  
- 10          Except for Gdansk, intercity telephone and telegram communications were restored throughout Poland.
  
- 11          Leaflets were distributed in Warsaw and other cities calling for silent protests on the 13th, the two-month anniversary of military rule. In apparent response to the leaflet campaign, a convoy of more than 100 armored troop carriers, water cannon trucks, and other police and military vehicles staged a show of force in Warsaw during evening rush hours.
  
- 11-14       Hungary's Foreign Minister Puja visited Warsaw, the first East European foreign minister to do so since the imposition of martial law.

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February

- 12 Martial law restrictions were tightened in the Polish town of Swidnik (Lublin province). Telephone service was cut, private automobiles banned, and public events suspended in the face of several "silent marches" by thousands of workers, students, and women with children.
- 13 Polish authorities reimposed martial law restrictions in Poznan after security forces quelled a demonstration by some 6,000 persons in the center of the city. More than 190 were arrested, and 162 were "punished" on misdemeanor charges.
- 13 A ranking official of the Polish Foreign Ministry, Bogdan Walewski, was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for spying.
- 14 Western sources in Poland reported that Polish authorities began offering passports for emigration to released internees.
- 14 The Polish press reported that a bomb exploded in downtown Warsaw, damaging the statue of Felix Dzerzhinski, founder of the Soviet secret police.
- 15 Warsaw radio reported that an explosion in a workers' hostel in Wroclaw killed one worker. Other incidents included: an explosion near a Warsaw apartment complex housing government officials; discovery of a 13-pound bomb in the city of Lubin which police said could have caused a "massacre"; and silent marches involving some 8,000 in Swidnik.
- 17 The Polish Government announced conclusion of a massive two-day sweep throughout the country, resulting in the arrest of some 3,500 persons charged with violating martial law restrictions.
- 17 Poland announced sharp drops in the January output in industry, agriculture, and trade compared with the same period last year. Exports dropped 18.5 percent, imports 17.3 percent. Coal production was the only exception, rising 5.1 percent over January 1981.
- 18 Hungarian trade union chief and president of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) Sandor Gaspar, on returning from the WFTU's world congress in Havana, criticized the Polish trade union movement

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February

- 18 for "failing to push effectively the demands of the workers." He said Hungarian trade union officials had "pinpointed [this fact] to the Poles ... within the limits of decency."
- 19-22 FRG Social Democratic parliamentary floor leader Herbert Wehner visited Poland.
- 20 The fourth Polish Politburo session held under martial law announced Jaruzelski's impending visit to Moscow, a party plenum for February 24-25, and a Sejm plenary for February 26-27.
- 21-22 Deputy Premier Ozdowski visited Hungary for economic discussions with Premier Lazar and Deputy Premier Marjai.
- 22 The trial of four leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), charged with plotting to overthrow Poland's government and system, was reopened before a military court in Warsaw. A regular court had been hearing the so-called Moczulski trial off and on since June 1981 and at one point even released the defendants. A higher court later ordered their rearrest, and a military court took over jurisdiction after December 13.
- 22 Western news agencies' telex circuits were restored in Poland for the first time since December 13.
- 22 Swedish radio reported picking up transmission from an underground station somewhere in Poland. The station's "First Letter" contained protest songs and information about the harshness of daily life.
- 22 Some international travel restrictions imposed on Poles on December 13 were lifted. Package tours and individual visits to relatives and friends in other East European countries were reinstated, but visits to the West were limited to pensioners and those too old to work. (Travel to Eastern Europe resumed on March 15.)
- 24 An underground Solidarity bulletin circulating in Warsaw claimed that the party now had fewer than 1 million members. (The party, which had some 3.1 million members in February 1980, admitted that its membership was down to about 2.6 million as a result of mass defections and expulsions.)

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February

- 24-25 The Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party held its first plenary session since the imposition of martial law. The meeting strengthened Jaruzelski's position and endorsed martial law.
- 25-26 The Episcopate of the Polish Catholic Church held its first plenary session under martial law. A strongly worded statement called for the lifting of martial law "as soon as possible"; resumption of a genuine dialogue leading to a "covenant" between the regime and society, including Solidarity; and an amnesty for Solidarity leaders in internment or hiding.
- 26-27 The Sejm, at its second plenary session under martial law, approved two ministerial changes, passed a series of draft bills dealing with economic matters, and praised the "restoration of order."

March

- 1-2 Jaruzelski met with Soviet leaders in Moscow, his first official trip abroad since becoming party chief last October. Moscow greeted him warmly and sent him home with promises of economic aid and some endorsements of Jaruzelski's positions vis-a-vis Polish hardliners.
- 2 Former Mining Minister (under Gierek) Kulpinski was sentenced to a six-month suspended jail term for abuse of his official position.
- 3 Polish television announced that internees, including their families, interested in leaving Poland permanently could apply for passports; a government spokesman subsequently said those willing to go into exile could return whenever they wished.
- 5 A Polish Catholic priest was sentenced to a 3 1/2-year jail term for "slandering Poland's system and authorities" in a sermon. This was the first known instance of a clergyman being imprisoned for political reasons under martial law.
- 8 Justice Minister Zawadski stated that 3,953 persons were still interned in some 25 detention centers. He confirmed reports that Walesa's uncertain status had been changed to that of an internee.

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March

- 8 Polish radio reported that Czechoslovak border guards shot a Pole attempting to cross from southern Poland. It suggested that the number of border-crossing attempts, mostly by Polish teenagers trying to reach Austria, was rising.
- 10 Police arrested four members of an alleged "juvenile terrorist group" in connection with the shooting of a policeman on a Warsaw trolley on February 18. This brought to nine the total number of persons, including a priest, arrested in the case.
- 10 French activists launched 10,000 balloons carrying pro-Solidarity leaflets from the Baltic island of Bornholm. The balloons, which contained instructions for passive resistance to martial law, landed along the Polish coast.
- 11 For the first time since the imposition of martial law, Polish TV announcers appeared on the screen in civilian clothes instead of military uniforms.
- 12 The CSCE review conference in Madrid recessed until November 9 following a month of harsh polemics over the Polish situation.
- 12 The Polish News Agency (PAP) announced that a combined Soviet, Polish, and East German field training exercise, code-named "Druzhiba-82," would be held in northwestern Poland between March 13 and 20. The exercise was not announced in the context of CSCE, nor was the number of troops involved indicated.
- 12 The Polish press admitted that protest actions were continuing in some internment camps, including hunger strikes and the production and dissemination of leaflets, posters, and poems "insulting Poland's system."
- 12 European Community (EC) governments agreed to cut Soviet imports to protest martial law in Poland. The cuts affect only a little more than 1 percent of Soviet annual exports to EC countries (perhaps \$120 million).
- 13 Some 100 Solidarity supporters disrupted an opera performance in Warsaw to harass lead singer Mroz for his alleged collaboration with martial law authorities.

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March

- 13 Industrial production fell sharply in February compared with the same month last year, but the decline was slightly less than the 13.7 percent drop recorded in January. Increased coal output was again the only exception to the downward trend.
- 14 Some 20,000 Poles gathered near the Ursus tractor factory on the outskirts of Warsaw to hear Glemp's appeal for the release of Walesa and other internees.
- 17 Zbigniew Bujak, one of the few Solidarity national leaders still at large, appealed in the Warsaw underground weekly Tygodnik Mazowsze to members of the suspended union to speak out in the ongoing debate on the future of Polish trade unionism. Meanwhile, interned Bydgoszcz Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski was brought before a court to face manslaughter charges stemming from a road accident last spring. The court postponed the hearing to April 21, at Rulewski's request.
- 19-20 The mayor of Warsaw dissolved the pro-Solidarity Polish Journalists' Association. The next day the Polish regime launched the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic, made up of members supporting martial law.
- 21 The baptism of Walesa's seventh child (born in January) attracted more than 10,000 well-wishers in Gdansk. Walesa himself was not present. The crowd chanted pro-Solidarity slogans and demanded Walesa's release. Two days later Walesa's wife revealed that the authorities had offered to allow him to emigrate with his family but "of course, we refused."
- 21 Glemp told a congregation in Torun that the Pope's planned visit to Poland in August might be postponed.
- 21 Poland's agricultural minister stated that if grain procurement did not increase beyond its current level (which was less than half the required amount), there might be problems in the pre-harvest period. Earlier, Trybuna Ludu warned there would be one-third less meat and poultry and one-half less fish available in the second quarter of 1982 than in the same period in 1981.
- 24 The Western press reported that brief, unannounced "rotating" strikes were staged on March 20 by sections of the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw.

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March

- 24 Poland's Military Prosecutor's Office announced that of all civilian offenders who had been arrested, 44 percent were suspected of anti-state crimes, 17 percent of illegal possession of firearms, 9 percent of violation of military discipline in enterprises, and 7 percent of illegal attempts at border crossing. The total number of offenders was not given.
- 25-26 The Sejm held its third plenary session under martial law; this was the second session to be held without being preceded by the customary party plenum.
- 29 Jaruzelski led a party-government delegation to East Germany, his second trip abroad since becoming party chief last October. Although East Berlin offered an effusive welcome, new economic assistance for the troubled Polish economy was not forthcoming.
- 29 Former Deputy Premier Kaim was jailed for one year and fined the equivalent of US\$3,700 on corruption charges. Kaim was the highest ranking government official of the Gierek era to be imprisoned.
- 30 Poland's deputy planning commission chief admitted that Poland's economic recovery to pre-August 1980 levels might take as long as six years, provided the government could implement its economic program.
- 31 The Soviet literary weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta charged that anti-government forces in Poland were stepping up their activity and had murdered 43 people, including police officers, since December 13.
- 31 The Warsaw daily Express Wieczorny said several Poles were beaten up while distributing Western aid parcels to recipients in Krakow and Elblag. It said Poland had received 46,000 tons of goods from abroad in January-February, compared with 50,000 tons for all of 1981.

April

- 5 Jaruzelski headed a party-government delegation to Czechoslovakia as part of his efforts to restore contacts with allies.
- 6 Poland's creditor Western banks and Polish officials signed an agreement for the rescheduling of \$2.4 billion in debts Poland was to have repaid in 1981. But Poland still lacked the necessary repayment funds.

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April

- 7           The Hungarian party plenum formally endorsed Poland's "sovereign decision" to invoke martial law. (No other East European party had done so.)
  
- 7           Warsaw University rector Samsonowicz, democratically elected in August 1980, was dismissed. The previous day, he lost his party membership.
  
- 11          Walesa was reunited with his wife and seven children for Easter, the first family reunion since his internment.
  
- 11          The Polish Episcopate released an 11-page document calling for resumption of national dialogue between the regime and the various social groups, including Solidarity. The document reiterated church demands for the lifting of martial law, release of the internees, and amnesty for those imprisoned under martial law. For the first time, however, the church also stated that Solidarity bore some responsibility for the imposition of martial law and the current impasse.
  
- 12          A clandestine station calling itself Radio Solidarity broadcast for about nine minutes without interference. Reception reportedly was good in most parts of Warsaw.
  
- 13          About 200 people marched around Krakow's main square, chanting anti-regime slogans and jeering at the riot police on the four-month anniversary of martial law.
  
- 16          Gdansk's two principal shipyards and about half of its municipal transportation system went on strike.
  
- 19          Bulgarian Foreign Minister Mladenov visited Warsaw and extended an invitation to Jaruzelski to visit Bulgaria.
  
- 21          Jaruzelski led a party-state delegation to Hungary.
  
- 22-23       The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party held its eighth plenum, the second under martial law, to discuss the country's difficult economic situation. Jaruzelski warned Poles not to expect significant improvement in their standard of living until 1990.
  
- 25          Jaruzelski and Glemp met for two hours in Warsaw, their second meeting since December. They discussed the possibility of a papal visit later this year.

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April

- 26-30      Glemp visited the Vatican. While in Rome, Glemp announced that the Pope had postponed indefinitely his planned second homecoming trip in August.
- 28          The ruling Military Council of National Salvation announced lifting of the 2300-0500 curfew and release of 1,000 internees, to be effective May 2.
- 29          The Western press reported that key underground Solidarity leaders accepted church proposals of April 11 as the basis for discussion with martial law authorities. (The group, which included Warsaw Solidarity leader Bujak, reportedly issued a communique to that effect after a meeting on April 22.)
- 29          Eight armed Poles overpowered security guards and forced the crew of a Wroclaw-Warsaw domestic flight to land at West Berlin's Tempelhof Airport. Thirty-four other passengers joined the eight in asking for political asylum. This was the seventh hijacking by Poles to West Berlin and the second since martial law was imposed.
- 30          Radio Solidarity fell silent after five minutes on the air, just as Bujak was about to issue an appeal to boycott the regime-organized May Day parade and hold a counterdemonstration instead.

May

- 1          Solidarity staged demonstrations in several Polish cities to commemorate international labor day. The demonstrations passed without incident.
- 2          Polish authorities released nearly 1,000 internees--some 200 on condition of good behavior--and eased other restrictions in accordance with the Military Council's decision of April 28.
- 3-6        Street demonstrations in Warsaw, Gdansk, Lublin, Szczecin, and Krakow resulted in injuries and numerous arrests. The Military Council, meeting in an emergency session on May 3, reimposed the curfew and other restrictions in the affected areas.
- 9          More civil disturbances took place in Wroclaw and Warsaw involving confrontations between youth and riot police.

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May

- 9 Warsaw declared two US Embassy officials personae non gratae after they were detained while visiting a Polish scientific contact. The US retaliated on May 13 by expelling two Polish Embassy officials and suspending projects under the US-Polish Scientific and Technological Agreement.
- 11-13 Deputy Premier Rakowski visited Austria for talks with Chancellor Kreisky and other senior officials.
- 12 Some 3,000 Polish farmers commemorated the first anniversary of the now-suspended Rural Solidarity at a mass celebrated in Warsaw.
- 13 An undetermined number of Polish workers in dozens of cities participated in a 15-minute symbolic strike to protest five months of martial law. At Warsaw's St. John's Cathedral, about 8,000 persons marked the 47th anniversary of Pilsudski's death.
- 14 Riot police in Krakow attacked a peaceful demonstration by some 10,000 persons. In Warsaw's Old Town, police used tear gas and truncheons to disperse about 1,000 youthful demonstrators.
- 17-19 CPSU Central Committee Secretary Rusakov and Warsaw Pact Commander in Chief Kulikov paid "friendly working visits" to Poland.
- 18 International Labor Organization Special Envoy Nicolas Valticos completed a five-day fact-finding visit to Poland. He talked with senior officials of the Jaruzelski government and met with Walesa.
- 19 Interned Bydgoszcz Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski told a Warsaw court (where his twice-postponed trial for a pre-martial law traffic accident was adjourned indefinitely because of ill health) that he and some 15 other interned Solidarity leaders and advisers had begun a hunger strike on May 11 to protest martial law.
- 20 Jaruzelski continued his round of visits to Warsaw Pact capitals with a trip to Bulgaria.
- 26 Deputy Premier Madej told the Sejm that Poland was faced with either failing to meet the country's food needs or going without essential raw materials and other items usually imported from the West. Madej

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May

- 26 said imports from the West had fallen by 43 percent in the first quarter of 1982 over the corresponding period of 1981. Warsaw's evening daily said half of Poland's construction firms faced bankruptcy.
- 26 The Polish press announced that the Sejm had elected (with 17 votes against and 42 abstentions) former party chief Kania to the Council of State.
- 27 A Polish Government spokesman confirmed that Walesa was moved to a new location which had "much better conditions," apparently in a southeastern province near the Soviet border.
- 27 Rural Solidarity leader Jan Kulaj, who was released from internment on April 28 along with nearly 1,000 other internees pledging good behavior, told a French TV interviewer that he was tricked by the regime into announcing support for the military rule.
- 28 Polish police shot and wounded a former Solidarity printer sought since December 13, when he tried to flee a document check.
- 28 President Reagan approved a food and medical aid package worth US\$68.7 million for FY 1983 to be channeled to Poland through private voluntary agencies.
- 30 Katowice Bishop Bednorz told an open-air mass, which attracted some 200,000 persons, that the Pope was still considering visiting Poland later this year and would like to visit internment camps housing Solidarity leaders.
- 31 The official Polish youth daily Sztandar Mlodych called on martial law authorities to make drastic election law reforms to win the support of Poland's youth. It said that Sejm candidates should be more numerous and voters should have the right to choose the best qualified person.

June

- 4 Jaruzelski visited Romania for talks with President Ceausescu--rounding out his tour of Warsaw Pact capitals.

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June

- 5 Warsaw provincial party secretary Kociolek, a reputed hardliner and critic of Jaruzelski's policy, was replaced by alternate Politburo member Marian Wozniak, an economic expert regarded as a political moderate. Kociolek was named Ambassador to Moscow.
- 6 Senior Polish bishops met in Warsaw and renewed their invitation to Pope John Paul II to visit Poland in August for the 600th anniversary of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa.
- 10 Glemp told approximately 100,000 worshippers at an outdoor mass in Warsaw that Poles would greet the Pope in "peace and order" if he decided to visit Poland in late August.
- 13-14 Despite a decision of Solidarity's underground leadership to suspend all protest action until further notice, security police and pro-Solidarity demonstrators clashed in Gdansk, Wroclaw, and Nowa Huta (near Krakow) on the six-month anniversary of martial law.
- 14 East European delegates walked out of the annual conference of the International Labor Organization when a Polish journalist, waving an authorization signed by Walesa, was allowed to address the session.
- 16 Polish riot police dispersed several hundred demonstrators after an evening mass held in Wroclaw to mark the six-month anniversary of the eight miners killed during a clash with police.
- 16 Some 15,000 Polish workers chanting "free Lech Walesa" marched from the Lenin steel complex to the center of Nowa Huta near Krakow. Police did not intervene.
- 18 A TASS article datelined Paris warned the Vatican that Moscow opposed a projected papal visit to Poland this summer. TASS accused the Polish church of trying to assume the role of a political opposition in place of the suspended Solidarity trade union.
- 24 A mixed commission representing the Polish Government and Episcopate met to discuss the projected visit of Pope John Paul II.

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June

- 26 A three-member delegation of the International Red Cross visited Walesa at his internment location near the Soviet border. This was the third visit by Red Cross officials.
- 26 Tygodnik Mazowsze published a Solidarity call for a moratorium on all protests until July 31.
- 28 Some 10,000 Poles appeared at the monument in Poznan commemorating the 1956 worker riots. The turnout for the 26th anniversary was substantially larger than at the official commemoration held the day before.
- 29 Ending weeks of silence on the subject, the Polish party daily Trybuna Ludu and weekly Now and Then carried articles advocating that Solidarity not be revived in any form lest it become a legal cover for the "anti-socialist underground union."
- 30 The Western press reported that more than 200 persons were arrested in Wroclaw after police clashed with pro-Solidarity demonstrators who had gathered on June 28 to mark the Poznan riots anniversary.

July

- 5 Poland raised the prices of coffee, tea, and many alcoholic beverages by an average of 60 percent.
- 5-6 The Sejm convened to deal with a variety of economic issues, many aggravated by months of martial law.
- 11 Polish television announced the arrest of seven Poles in connection with the discovery by police of a number of mobile Radio Solidarity transmitters. Two days later Radio Solidarity went on the air to announce that it would suspend transmission for two months.
- 15-16 A plenary session of the Polish party's Central Committee addressed the problem of gaining the confidence of disaffected youth. It also approved major changes in the party's top hierarchy, most notably the removal of Olszowski from his post as secretary for media and propaganda. (He remained on the Politburo.)
- 19-23 Foreign Minister Czyrek held talks with Pope John Paul II and other Vatican officials in Rome on the timing of a papal visit to Poland.

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July

- 20 In a new bid for national accord, Jaruzelski launched the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), a new communist-led umbrella organization to replace the discredited Front of National Unity.
- 21 Jaruzelski at a special session of the Sejm announced measures to relax martial law; the session also endorsed changes in the government.
- 22 Glemp, at the Vatican since July 5, confirmed on his return to Warsaw that the Pope had decided to postpone his trip to Poland.
- 31 Solidarity's underground leaders issued a call for a series of peaceful protests against martial law throughout August, to culminate in a nationwide peaceful demonstration on the second anniversary of the Gdansk strike settlement accord on August 31. The appeal in effect ended the union's moratorium on protests announced on June 26.

August

- 5 Polish authorities conducted a roundup of persons suspected of producing and disseminating clandestine publications.
- 6 A joint Polish-Romanian protocol was signed, calling for economic cooperation, exchange of Polish coal for Romanian shoes, and Romanian use of idle Polish plant capacity.
- 10-13 The Polish officials and representatives of Poland's private Western creditors met in London to discuss rescheduling of Poland's debt repayment obligations for this year.
- 11 The Polish press reported the reinternment for alleged "activities incompatible with state security" of an unspecified number of Poles who had been released in July.
- 13 Demonstrations marking eight months of martial law took place in Warsaw, Gdansk, Wroclaw, Krakow, and other smaller Polish cities. They were broken up by riot police using tear gas and water cannon.

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- 16 Jaruzelski, accompanied by Foreign Minister Czyrek, met with Brezhnev and Gromyko in the Crimea. The talks, which focused mainly on the internal Polish situation, were said to have been held in a "cordial atmosphere" and with "complete identity of views."
- 19 The Polish regime acknowledged that "serious clashes" had occurred at a detention center in Kwidzyn and that 13 detainees were clubbed. Solidarity and church sources put the number of injured detainees at 60.
- 26 At a gathering of some 300,000 Polish pilgrims celebrating the 600th anniversary of the Black Madonna of Jasna Gora, Glomp called on the Jaruzelski regime to release Walesa, or at least let him speak freely. Glomp also urged the regime to resume genuine dialogue with Polish society.
- 28-30 A pastoral letter from Poland's bishops called on both the authorities and the public to refrain from violence on August 31. The letter also stressed the need for compromise between rulers and subjects and reminded martial law authorities of their pledge last December that Solidarity would be able to resume its trade union function.
- 29 Jaruzelski, in a televised speech to graduating cadets, urged Poles to mark the anniversary of the Gdansk accords with work and warned that violations of martial law would not be tolerated.
- 29 The clandestine Radio Solidarity twice interrupted the evening newscast of the official Warsaw radio to appeal to the militia to defy orders on August 31. The clandestine broadcast was the first since early July.
- 30 Approximately 50 people participated in a brief, low-key demonstration in Budapest on behalf of Polish Solidarity. They met at the statue of Polish General Bern where Hungarians had rallied in 1956, also in support of events in Poland. Some participants were detained by the police and later released.

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Widespread disturbances erupted in most major Polish cities and resulted in at least five fatalities, numerous injuries to police and protesters, the arrest of more than 4,000 demonstrators, and some material damage. The majority of protesters appeared to be less than 30 years of age.

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